Sikarayia Vihuge

585 ancient Greek vases of the geometric period, for
292 every design was made up of straight lines and
531 triangles, with here and there an inchoate beginning of those patterns of white crosses on a black ground, and black on white, that cover the vestments of frescoed prelates on the wall of a narthex. All was angular: triangles mounting in pyramids or shooting diagonally in zigzags and sawteeth and staircases with, very seldom, here and there, a small and subtly placed triangle or chevron, among the dominating black and white, of pale ocher, or terra-cotta, or a deadened blue. "Geometric" and "neolithic" were the epithets which began to float to the surface of the mind, bringing with them the excitement of the thought that these clothes and these designs might not have changed for three thousand years or more. One knows that these thoughts must be suppressed until they can be confirmed by research. But such dalliance is always stimulating. It was backed here by the certainty that nothing like these clothes exists in Greece or in the Balkan Peninsula or in Europe.

142 The bride's face, with the blue cross on her fore-
[302] head under black hair as coarse and lustrous as a stallion's tail and the stiff linen coif with its load of baubles and flowers, was burned a deep bronze. It had the metallic, wide-browed, heavy-lidded beauty, the slightly sad mouth, the clear line of jaw from chin to ear, and, springing from its flattened ruff and its stomacher of coins, the strong columnar neck which I admired so much, a few years ago, among the Mayas of the Honduranean and Guatemaltecan jungles. Obsidian, chalcedony, and basalt would have been the stones in which to carve those features and that still and melancholy posture. It is a type of looks which has an arresting distinction, a Gauguin-limbed strength at variance with the slender Tanagra delicacy that seems to have left an indelible stamp on Western ideas of grace and style.

585 There was no time for more of these cogitations.
[534] The deep reedy blast of a clarinet sounded under the window; then, after a few twiddles, a violin and the twanging of a lute and a tentative fluttering tinkle of hammers over the wires of a zither. "Ah, the instruments," Uncle Petro said, "at last!"
[533] I asked Petro if the musicians were Sarakatsáns.
[648] He looked at me in surprise. "Sarakatsáns? We only play the flute. They are Gypsies." And so they were, very dark ones, lined up outside under a tree in blue suits, wearing pointed black shoes and ties, the only ties for miles, and looking sleek and urban among these other nomads. There was a crunch of hobnails up the stairs as the

/92 cont./

232 [413] [237] which permits him to reach the brain and the cyst. With a hook (small elongated implement ending in a kind of hook) he removes the cyst, replaces the bone, covers the spot of entry with beeswax and applies a dressing. After several days the wound heels and the animal recovers.

The safety of the livestock

233 [685] [577] [231] The serious enemies of the flocks are wild beasts (chiefly wolves), on the one hand, and livestock thieves on the other. (A short time ago, the latter were very numerous, this type of theft being considered a virtue among herders. Against them Sarakatsani keep large dogs, very savage and very dangerous. These dogs do not hesitate to grapple with wolves, and it is for this reason that their masters put around their necks a collar studded with iron points.

Moreover, the shepherds always see to it that the flock /93/ does not disperse, for the strayed animals become the specific prey of wolves and thieves. This task is easier when there is a ram or a buck in the flock, since these animals act as the center of attraction for the livestock (ewes and she-goats). Moreover, the sound of their [534] bells (they are huge, some weighing several kilograms) always gives the signal for reassembly of the flock by a conditioned reflex mechanism. This mechanism is so effective that even in the darkest nights the shepherds succeed in regrouping their animals by ringing these bells. /Fig. 74 appears here/

221 233 484 361 [462] Seasonal migrations

The seasonal migrations involve the following arrangements:

At a designated hour, always before dawn, the women set to work; entrusted with the preparations, they gather up the equipment and load it on the backs of the beasts of burden. The men, for their part, "take care of the livestock." When everything is ready, human beings, beasts of burden and flock form a column in the order laid down by tradition. The flocks surrounded by shepherds and dogs set out first.

233 /279 cont./
789 by the Council of Laodicea (36th rule), Mansi, vol. II.
[114] Then one strikes the rim of the bell in order to close it and puts it around the neck of a ram of the finest ewe of the flock. This amulet protects against sickness as well as evil spirits. (84)

[534] 84. The bell, the hand bell, the sleighbell in themselves protect against every kind of evil, see Chrysostomos: Ibid., p. 105.

233 As for the commands of silence, the shepherd must not talk about the
784 breeding of the animals and the head man must not tell anyone until
22] the last moment the date, hour and destination of a forthcoming seasonal
[754] migration. Thus no one can be envious or influence the animals with his evil eye during these decisive stages of their lives (occasions of "transition").

789 From the therapeutic standpoint, an exorcism of the Church or a
514 wound dressing made with human urine (85)
233
[171]

85. The use of blood and excrements in magic is well known and is found universally. Once more Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., p. 232 referring to [illegible] M.P.G. 88, 1904, tells us that urine represented in the Byzantine epoch the vital force, here opposed to the force threatening life, that is to say, the evil eye. From all evidence the urine of man protects the animals because of the superiority of man over them.

and placed on a limb of the animal affected, are sufficient.

754 /280/ The lack of data on black magic, stressed at the beginning of this chapter, prevents us from speaking of it in detail. The little that we know about it allows us to understand that this magic is performed chiefly by casting a spell; an object belonging to the victim is usually indispensable for the sorcerer to show his power. Nevertheless, the sorcerer is very often able to make the necessary substances and figurines

/367 cont./

533 see in this explanation an "ideological" sublimation of suppressed love--a feeling common to human nature and thus not unknown to the Sarakatsani.

[177] All the songs sung on this occasion are not necessarily of Sarakatsani origin; a certain number of them come from general Greek folklore.

533 635 [177] Songs of the non-ritual dance: these songs too are typically not Sarakatsani, like the dances, which are common in the country (Crete and the islands excepted). However, there is a dance known as the "dance of three" which is the Sarakatsani's own and is performed to a Sarakatsani song.

533 461 Songs accompanying some kinds of work: during the seasonal migrations the monotony of the march is often broken by song. The same is true of shearing.

533 461 233 A second "free" artistic manifestation among the Sarakatsani involves tunes played by the shepherds on their flutes during the hours of pasturing--rather sad, tunes drawn-out and full of longing. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3)

[534]

3. Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 144-145.

the shepherds themselves say that they reproduce on their flutes the [114] sound of the small bells. We believe that this testimony is musically incorrect. The flocks recognize the sounds of the flute and gather around the shepherd as they gather around the large bell of the ram. It is a matter of conditioning the animals by sounds, a conditioning which, though common to both cases, in no way assumes an artistic 533 ressemblance between one and the other. And if the tunes played /368/ 233 on the flute with their cadences and trills often evoke the sounds of the bells of the flocks which, heard from a distance, seem to form musical phrases including cadences and trills, it must nevertheless be

/372 cont./

000 the blaze of their grief, but this fire won't be extinguished."

* * * *

534 We should like to conclude this brief chapter with a description of the musical instruments of the Sarakatsani, which are simply variations of the flute. Our herders call them tzamara and tziradi. They either make them themselves or else they buy them commercially.

[804] The tzamara is a very long flute measuring 12 "palms" (approximately 90 centimeters--the Sarakatsani use the palm of the hand as a unit of measure), made of a hollow tube of wood, more rarely of metal, pierced with several holes upon which the fingers are set to vary the frequencies. There are seven of these holes. We shall call them "main holes" to distinguish them from the others. One of the two ends of the tube is used as the mouthpiece. On the other end there are three holes arranged in a triangle which are on a line with the main holes. At the height of the first main hole, but diametrically opposite, there is an orifice that /the player's/ close with the thumb; there is another opposite the hole which forms the summit of the triangle. This last one is called "the devil's hole" because it is the "devil who conceived it," while the one stopped with the thumb is "the work of Jesus Christ." This [793] in accordance with a Sarakatsani legend that says the first tzamara was made during the resurrection of Christ. And the devil, vexed, tried to damage it by /373/ /Figure 108 appears here/ /374/ piercing it at the place we have just indicated. However, thanks to the intervention of Christ who pierced it higher up, the sound of the instrument became better and the devil burst with fury.

[533] [516] The sound of the tzarmara is soft and deep. The musician must play seated because of the length of the instrument (fig. 108) which is also called floyéra, a common name in Greece for all shepherd flutes. /Figure 109 appears here/

3: Kabbadias--435 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/373/

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Fig. 108

/374 cont./

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Fig. 109

The tziradi is a reduced flute, approximately 35 centimeters long. It is a portable instrument made of wood, metal or the long bones of the [237] eagle (fig. 109). In the latter case the bones must remain 40 days in a [183] church, before being used, for the birds of prey "are of the devil" and must therefore be purified. The tziradi has but seven holes, on one side only. The sound it produces is rather shrill.

Formerly, the Sarakatsani also used the bourboule, an instrument bought [178] commercially and consisting of two flutes joined. This instrument has today disappeared.

/375/ PART FOUR

/376/ REMARKS ON THE WHOLE

121 After the partial aspects, an introduction to the whole of Sarakatsani society and culture: a step all the more necessary since, in the world of socio-cultural phenomena, the whole far exceeds the simple sum of its parts.

In this section we shall not concern ourselves with what is external and apparent only secondary. We intend above all to try to fathom the inner composition, to show how the parts are concretely integrated.

But if we succeed in defining the process that leads to the integration of the parts into the whole, that is to say, in bringing to light how we pass from plurality to unity, we shall, at the same time, be in a position to explain and to understand the whole. More than that.